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ABSTRACT

A three-year study was conducted to assess the success of recruitment, admission, education, and retention practices for black students in nursing schools. Data was collected from a total of 3,002 students and 469 faculty members representing twenty-seven diploma, associate, and baccalaureate schools in twelve states. Few nursing schools were found to be integrated (only schools with a minimum of ten percent black enrollment were considered integrated), and these schools were most often located in black neighborhoods and offered low tuition rates and two-year programs. No direct relationship was found between recruitment efforts and the size of black enrollment. Once a school was successful in recruiting and graduating large numbers of black nurses, it continued to attract qualified minority applicants. While the level of admission standards was assessed as having little influence on enrollment size, preadmission programs offered by the schools to give remedial assistance to black applicants succeeded in increasing the number of black students. Schools were more often interested in increasing minority enrollment rates than retention rates; only six of the twenty-seven surveyed were successful in both recruitment and retention efforts. The success of integrating the profession was found to be undermined by the belief of a majority of black students that discrimination exists in the nursing profession and that nursing professional associations are unresponsive to the needs of black nurses. (ELG)

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INTEGRATION STRATEGIES FOR THE NURSING PROFESSION

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INTEGRATION STRATEGIES FOR THE NURSING PROFESSION

This past year, national news has focused on the sparcity of blacks in the medical profession and on educators' efforts to recruit students from underrepresented minorities into medical schools. The problem, however, is not unique to medicine. Nursing has been marked for many years by a nonintegrated working force. The major difference, however, is that nursing leaders became concerned about the shortage of black registered nurses in the mid 1960's and began intensive efforts to interest and recruit blacks into the nursing profession. By 1970, these efforts were expanded to assist students from disadvantaged backgrounds to remain in and graduate from schools of nursing. To date, however, there have been few studies which document how successful these efforts have been.

In order to assess the success of various recruitment, admission, educational, and retention practices, the staff of the Program of Health Services Delivery, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Maryland (College Park), under the direction of Dr. Eleanor Feldbaum, embarked on a three year study funded by the Division of Nursing, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (project number NU00570). Last year, our project staff travelled to 27 diploma, associate, and baccalaureate schools in 12 states representing different regions of the country. The criteria for school selection were: accreditation by the National League for Nursing, geographic and programmatic representation, successful efforts in enrolling black student nurses, and a willingness to participate in the study. At each school, data were collected from students, faculty, and directors, chairpersons, or deans. The data collection resulted in the completion of 3002 student and 469 faculty questionnaires. This report relies mainly on the data obtained from

the director and student interview schedules.

The major findings of our first year, to be discussed in detail below, are that recruiting and retaining black student nurses are difficult tasks that can be accomplished only with decided commitment. Unfortunately, in the initial process of selecting our school sample, we found that such a commitment is lacking among nursing educators. Indeed, our first major finding was that few nursing schools in the United States are integrated.

In order for a school to be considered integrated, we established a minimum criterion of 10 percent black student representation. By establishing this criterion, entire sections of the country (e.g. New England and Mountain states) could not be sampled. Even in those cities where blacks comprised over 50 percent of the population, the majority of schools had less than 5 percent black enrollment. In many of these cities, there was at least one school where blacks comprised 30 percent or more of the student body. With few exceptions, however, the high enrollments seemed to be due more to the schools having two year nursing programs, inexpensive tuitions and locations in black neighborhoods than to faculty or school commitment.

We found that recruitment and retention efforts did not necessarily ensure an integrated student population. Often schools were more interested in increasing black enrollment rates than retention rates. Many departments of nursing within institutions of higher education were content that college or university staff were engaged in recruitment, skill remediation, and tutoring programs without any nursing input or efforts expended. Several schools which had both associate and baccalaureate degree nursing programs were satisfied that the enrollment of blacks was sufficient in the two year program and were unconcerned that few

minority students were pursuing the baccalaureate degree. Six of the 27 schools in our sample were successful in both recruitment and retention efforts, and all displayed nigh levels of commitment to the education of black nurses. Moreover, all had a history of trying a variety of approaches to obtain that objective.

The success of integrating the nursing profession is no doubt being undermined by the belief that discrimination exists within the profession. We found that a majority of black students perceive discriminatory employment and promotion practices and conflictual relationships between black nurses and other relevant actors in the health delivery system. Moreover, these students do not believe that nursing professional associations are concerned with or responsive to the needs of black nurses. Thus, it is apparent that nursing leaders need to critically evaluate their motivations and efforts in recruiting and retaining black student nurses, and need to be honest about their commitment to successfully integrating the nursing corps. If they are less than honest in their commitment, any efforts to reach this goal will be unsuccessful.

BLACK ENROLLMENT

The highest enrollment of black students was found in associate degree programs, schools which were publicly supported, and in commuter schools. Nursing programs in the northern and central regions reported the highest black enrollments. In addition, black students were most likely to attend schools in black neighborhoods and where faculty composition was over 10 percent black (see Table 1).

Recruitment Practices

Directors were asked whether their schools of nursing engaged in the following types of recruitment practices: advertised in general and

TABLE 1

SELECTED SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS AND STUDENT RACIAL COMPOSITION

	Number of Schools	Mean Percentage White Students	Mean Percentage Black Students
Type of Program			
Associate degree	11	65.2	31.2
Diploma degree	6	77.5	18.2
Baccalaureate degree	10	81.5	10.4
Region			
South	8	87.5	11.9
North	5	66.6	32.0
East	3	80.3	19.0
Central	4	73.8	25.0
West	7	61.1	20.6
School Support			
Public	22	71.0	22.5
Private	5	87.0	12.2
Commuter school	12	65.5	30.1
Non-Commuter school	15	80.7	13.0
Black Faculty			
Less ten percent	14	79.1	14.2
More ten percent	13	68.4	27.5
School Neighborhood			
Black	7	61.3	36.6
Ethnic and white	20	78.4	15.0

minority media or in college handbooks; mailed brochures to minority groups; sent faculty, student, and black recruiters to high schools and to schools with high black enrollments; conferred with high school counsellors; invited prospective students to visit the nursing schools; and participated in Project Breakthrough. As can be seen in Table 2, the most utilized recruitment strategies were those that concentrated on visiting high schools and meeting with counsellors, and opening facilities for visitations. The least utilized strategies were advertising in minority media and mailing brochures to minority groups. Diploma schools were the most active in general and minority recruitment efforts. The schools in the northern and central regions were the most active recruiters, while those in the east and west were the least.

There is no clear or direct relationship between recruitment efforts and the size of black enrollment. Those schools which were most active reported the lowest mean percentage of black students. (see Table 3). Also cause and effect is difficult to determine, for those strategies that were successful in some schools were not successful in others. In those schools where the college or university was responsible for recruitment without help from the nursing departments, the efforts were usually unsuccessful. Several schools were able to integrate their student population when active minority community groups helped with or took charge of recruitment activities. A few baccalaureate programs with racially heterogeneous student bodies did not actively recruit in the high schools but rather expended energies in community colleges with large black student populations. In those cities where there was only one publicly supported associate or baccalaureate degree program, integration was achieved with little nursing departmental effort. Though least used, advertising in minority media, mailing brochures to minority groups,

TABLE 2

TYPES OF RECRUITMENT PRACTICES UTILIZED BY EACH TYPE OF NURSING PROGRAM IN EACH REGION
(percentages reported)

	Total Used	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
Number of schools	27	11	6	10	8	5	3	4	7
Mailed catalogue or brochure upon request	25	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Mailed brochures to minority groups	4	0	50	11.1	16.7	40	33.3	0	0
Media advertisements	11	54.5	33.3	30	25	40	33.3	50	57.2
Ads in college handbooks	6	9.1	33.3	30	25	20	33.3	25	14.3
Minority group media ads	1	0	16.7	0	0	0	33.3	0	0
Recruiters confer with high school counselors	16	45.5	100	50	50	100	66.7	100	14.3
Faculty and students spoke to high school students	21	54.5	100	90	87.5	80	66.7	75	71.4
Recruiters spoke in schools with large black populations	20	54.5	100	80	50	100	66.7	100	71.4
Schools sent black recruiters into black areas	14	36.4	66.7	60	75	60	66.7	75	28.6
Invitations to students to visit schools	17	45.5	100	60	50	80	33.3	75	71.4
Participation in Project Breakthrough	8	27.3	50	25	37.5	0	33.3	66.7	28.6

TABLE 3

SCHOOLS' LEVEL OF GENERAL AND MINORITY RECRUITMENT EFFORTS AND BLACK ENROLLMENT

	Number of Schools	Mean Percentage of Black Students
General Recruitment		
School performed 1-3 activities	10	26.0
School performed 4-6 activities	15	18.6
Minority Recruitment		
School performed 1-2 activities	12	22.7
School performed 3-5 activities	7	16.9

and participating in Project Breakthrough were successful strategies, especially when combined with energies directed toward predominantly black high schools.

Most directors had difficulty in assessing the effectiveness of the various recruitment strategies. There was general agreement among those heading schools with integrated student populations, however, that "success begets success." That is, once a school has been successful in recruiting and graduating large numbers of black student nurses, there is no longer difficulty attracting large numbers of highly qualified minority applicants.

Admission Criteria and Practices

Schools of nursing were categorized by the stringency of their admission criteria. Those with high criteria required standardized college admission tests, completion of specific courses, and a high school grade point average of 2.5 or better. Moderate criteria schools were those where either standardized tests or a minimum of two course requirements were specified. All other schools were categorized as having low admission criteria. Baccalaureate degree programs and schools in the central region tended to have the highest admission standards. There was neither a direct nor positive relationship between standards and size of black enrollment (see Table 4). In the north and in diploma programs, schools with low admission criteria had large numbers of black students. High standards did seem somewhat of a deterrent, yet, the schools with moderate admission criteria had the largest percentage of black student matriculation.

Six schools had established special standards for evaluating black applicants. Half of these were in the west, where California schools had been mandated to accept a certain percentage of minority students.

TABLE 4

ADMISSION CRITERIA AND PRACTICES AND BLACK ENROLLMENT
(mean percentages reported, N in parenthesis)

		TYPE OF PROGRAM			REGION				
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
Admission Standards									
High	14(7)	27(2)	0(0)	9.6(5)	9(2)	9(1)	6(1)	29(2)	6(1)
Moderate	21(15)	37(5)	17(5)	12(5)	14(5)	25(2)	33(3)	21(2)	27(5)
Low	26(5)	28(4)	18(1)	0(0)	10(1)	49(2)	18(1)	0(0)	6(1)
Special Standards for blacks									
Yes	15(6)	26(1)	16(2)	11(3)	14(1)	0(0)	12(2)	0(0)	18(3)
No	22(21)	33(10)	18(4)	10(7)	12(7)	31(5)	33(1)	25(4)	24(4)
Preadmission Program									
Yes	18(15)	28(6)	12(3)	11(6)	13(3)	26(3)	19(3)	20(3)	11(3)
No	24(12)	37(5)	23(3)	10(4)	12(5)	39(2)	0(0)	40(1)	29(4)

While two California schools had been given quotas, they were able to meet these numbers without establishing special standards. Such standards, however, did not help increase black enrollment. Indeed, the schools that had established special admission criteria had lower percentages of black students enrolled than did schools which had not.

Fifteen of the 27 schools had established programs to help students meet requirements for admission. In general, schools with preadmission programs had the lowest enrollment of black student nurses. Only in the southern region and in baccalaureate degree schools where such programs existed did the percentages of black enrollment exceed those schools without such programs. However, even in these cases, the percentage differences were minimal. Three interesting factors emerged from our staff's discussion on preadmission programs.

First, we found that only four nursing departments had any input into the preadmission programs. In these schools where nursing personnel either worked with students or directed the program, preadmission remedial help was successful in increasing the number of black nursing students. The remaining eleven programs were run entirely by the college or university and these schools reported either the lowest (under 10%) or the highest (over 30%) percentages of black students. Whether high or low black enrollments resulted in these eleven schools, it did not appear that the nursing faculty were very concerned about black enrollment.

Second, we found that many preadmission programs did little more than provide income for the schools. Students enrolled in such programs paid full tuition while taking remedial course work. Personnel at these schools did not know how many students attended classes, remained in the program, or had progressed to matriculate into a college

level curriculum. Unfortunately, many of these students were black men and women who had declared nursing as their intended major. How many of these individuals were lost to nursing is anyone's guess. Moreover, most of these students were supported by Basic Educational Opportunity and often Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants. Thus, one can also ask how much federal monies have been expended and wasted?

Third, we found that establishing a preadmission program was an excellent way to initially integrate student populations. Four deans explained that when they first felt the need to increase minority enrollment, they actively recruited minority applicants, many of whom needed remedial assistance. By creating preadmission programs, not only could they help these students, but they were also able to demonstrate to the black community that the school was serious in its attempt to integrate. An added bonus was that the faculty members involved in the program became interested in and committed to seeing that these minority students succeeded. Once a significant number of minority students were attending the school and succeeding in course work, the number of minority applicants increased. With this increase came a large number of highly qualified applicants who did not need help in meeting admission criteria. Thus, the preadmission programs helped the schools of nursing achieve their objectives and the programs were discontinued.

Student Nurse Decisions and Effects of Recruitment Activities

Students were asked to use a scale from zero to five to rate how influential 25 factors were in their selection of nursing as a career (zero indicated no influence, five meant very influential). As can be seen in Table 5, the same five items were selected by white and

TABLE 5

REASONS FOR CAREER CHOICE OF WHITE AND BLACK STUDENTS
(mean scores reported)

CAREER CHOICE

Using a scale from zero to five, please rate how influential each of the following items was in your selecting nursing as a career. (0 stands for no influence, 5 stands for very influential)

No influence — Very influential

0 1 2 3 4 5

Place the appropriate number before each item.

	White	Black
Family or friend pressure or influence	1.90	2.17
Challenging and rewarding profession	4.31	4.45
Affordable education	2.32	2.77
Job opportunities are ample	4.14	4.33
Good salary and fringe benefits	3.35	3.80
Numerous career paths to follow	4.05	3.94
Advice from high school counselors or teachers	.50	.91
Didn't want to go to college	.28	.58
One of the professions open to women	1.24	2.06
Good profession for wife and mother	1.91	2.41
Provides high professional status	2.79	3.24
Nurses spoke in my high school	.28	.59
Good promotion opportunities	2.19	2.67
Profession provides opportunities for blacks	.31	2.78
Work with or help people	4.41	4.64
Interested in health or medicine	4.60	4.68
Provided job security	3.71	3.96
Religious calling	.96	.89
Black nurses spoke at my high school	.04	.20
Health Clubs in high school or community	.49	.74
Observation of nursing activities	2.50	2.86
Influenced by nurse, school nurse	1.24	1.42
Mass media (e.g., television, radio)	.79	1.60
Special prenursing planned preparatory program	.17	.51
Contact with student nurses while in high school	.40	.58

black students as influencing their career choice: interest in health or medicine (mean score 4.61), desire to work with and help people (4.45), belief that nursing was a challenging and rewarding profession (4.32), the availability of job opportunities (4.17), and the availability of numerous career paths to follow (4.02). The five items considered least influential by both groups of students were those which related to recruitment: advice received from high school counselors or teachers (mean score .57), health clubs in high school or community (.52), nurses speaking in their high school (.33), black nurses speaking in high school (mean score for black students was .20), and special pre-nursing planned preparatory programs (.23). It is interesting to note that a moderately strong influence for black students was the belief that the nursing profession provides opportunities for blacks (mean score 2.78).

Twenty-six items were listed as possible reasons for students selecting their particular school of nursing (see Table 6). The five major reasons given by white students indicated concern with educational and convenience aspects of their school: reputation of the school (68.1%), close to home (63.6%), desire for a college degree (50.3%), reasonable tuition (50.1%), and connections with a large medical institution (48.9%). In contrast, black students selected their schools for more pragmatic reasons: close to home (75.7%), reasonable tuition (62.2%), reputation of the school (56.9%), time required to complete the nursing program (48.4%), and desire for a college degree (42.2%). Again the lowest percentages of both groups of students gave recruitment reasons: school of nursing sent recruiters to their high schools (4.5%), school arranged tutoring to help pass entrance exams (1.9%) and recruiters' recommendation (1.9%). Though still a small percentage, 14.4 percent of the students were influenced by visiting and meeting with people at the school of

TABLE 6

REASONS BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS SELECTED THEIR SCHOOLS OF NURSING
(percentages reported)

SELECTION OF SCHOOL OF NURSING

Why did you select your particular school of nursing? (Check as many items as appropriate)

	White	Black
Reputation of school	68.1	56.9
Close to home	63.6	75.7
Could attend school part-time	17.3	30.1
Wanted a college degree	50.3	42.2
Emphasis of curriculum	30.0	29.4
Reasonable tuition	50.1	62.2
Awarded scholarship or financial aid	20.8	38.3
Emphasis on clinical skills	34.5	34.5
School arranged for paid employment while in school	2.7	9.6
Did not have to take college boards	2.0	8.0
School arranged tutoring to help me pass entrance exams	.5	2.9
Influence of family or friends	34.4	27.0
Job placement upon graduation	16.0	18.1
Time required to complete program	38.5	48.4
Connected with large medical institution	48.6	37.8
Size of school	29.8	22.4
School of nursing sent recruiters to my high school	3.4	5.5
Visited and met with people at school of nursing	15.1	13.7
Racial mix of the student body	5.2	23.4
Faculty seemed committed to working with and helping	27.2	25.5
Minority faculty members	1.9	13.5
Dorm space was available	15.7	8.7
Recruiters' recommendations	1.6	2.2
Receive college credits which are transferable for bachelor's degree	22.9	28.9
School gave credits for previous schooling and/or experience	28.3	26.5
Offering tutoring services to help with course work	.3	12.5
Other	5.1	2.2

nursing.

Students were asked if they were aware of or had participated in ten programs or activities which had been established to interest persons in a nursing career and/or to help them enter schools of nursing. Over 70 percent of the students were unaware that: nurses visited communities to speak about opportunities in the profession; visits were planned to health facilities to observe nursing activities; films were shown about career opportunities in nursing; black nurses or student nurses spoke to groups about opportunities in nursing for minorities; prenursing programs (e.g., Selantic, Breakthrough) existed to help individuals plan for entering nursing school; programs existed for counselling about different types of nursing schools and curricula; programs offered tutorial assistance to prepare for nursing school entrance exams; visits were planned to schools of nursing to familiarize potential students with the schools' physical setting, faculty, and students; and that help was offered to potential students to complete applications and make financial arrangements to enter nursing school. Indeed, the most familiar activity to student nurses was high school nurse clubs and 63 percent had not even heard of these (see Table 6a).

BLACK RETENTION

In recent years, many of the schools we visited have shifted attention from the recruitment to the retention of black students. In general, we found that black retention rates were not lower than those of white students (see Table 7). The largest percentages of black students who remained in school were attending baccalaureate degree programs, schools in the western regions, those which are privately supported, and schools where dormitory facilities are available. The higher

TABLE 6a

AWARENESS OF RECRUITMENT ACTIVITIES AMONG WHITE AND BLACK STUDENTS
(percentages reported)

In recent years several programs have been established to interest persons in a nursing career and to help them enter nursing schools. Have you known about, participated in, or been helped by any of the following programs?

	Did not know of Program		Knew of Program/ did not participate		Participated but Program was of little help		Participated Program was helpful	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Programs in which nurses visit the community to speak about opportunities in the nursing profession	73.0	78.9	20.4	13.3	1.9	1.7	4.7	6.1
There were nurses clubs in my high school (e.g., Future Nurses, Health Careers, Red Cross)	62.1	65.5	21.5	18.1	7.6	5.6	8.7	10.8
Program planned visits to health facilities to observe nursing activities	74.5	70.4	9.9	9.3	3.5	3.9	12.1	16.4
Films were shown about career opportunities in nursing	75.2	72.6	9.9	8.1	5.1	4.9	9.8	14.3
Black nurses or student nurses spoke to groups about opportunities in nursing for minorities	92.6	88.2	6.4	3.9	.5	2.2	.6	5.7
Prenursing programs (e.g., Selantic, Breakthrough or Odwin) helped individuals plan for entering nursing school	89.3	85.2	6.8	5.7	1.1	2.0	2.8	7.0
Programs provided counseling about different types of nursing schools and curricula	76.5	75.6	9.9	10.9	4.5	5.0	9.1	8.5

TABLE 6a (Continued)

	Did not know of Program		Knew of Program/ did not participate		Participated but Program was of little help		Participated Program was helpful	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Programs offered tutorial assistance to prepare for nursing school entrance exams	92.9	87.1	5.7	6.9	.6	2.5	.8	3.5
Programs planned visits to schools of nursing to familiarize potential students with the school's physical setting, faculty and student	77.2	77.4	7.6	7.9	2.9	3.0	12.3	11.7
Programs helped potential students to complete applications and make financial arrangements to enter nursing school	81.5	75.0	8.5	8.9	2.6	3.2	7.3	12.9

TABLE 7

SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTRITION BY RACE
(excluding schools with missing data)

	Number of Schools	Mean Percentage White Retention	Mean Percentage Black Retention
Total	21	78.8	78.4
Type of Program			
Associate degree	9	81.7	76.0
Diploma degree	4	57.3	59.3
Baccalaureate degree	8	86.1	90.8
Region			
South	7	76.7	78.3
North	3	78.7	83.0
East	2	68.0	66.5
Central	2	55.0	50.1
West	7	90.7	89.7
School Support			
Public	22	79.6	77.6
Private	5	73.8	81.5
Commuter school	15	80.9	76.7
Dorm facilities available	12	76.4	79.6
Faculty Degrees			
Less than 70 percent faculty have graduate degree	13	66.8	60.8
More than 70 percent faculty have graduate degrees	14	87.3	91.5

the percentage of a school's faculty who held graduate degrees, the higher was that school's black retention rate.

Retention Practices

Deans and directors were asked what measures were being taken to help students maintain the grade point average necessary to remain in school. Several schools did very little, only requiring their faculty to tutor students informally. Others left formal or informal retention programs for the university or college to direct, while the nursing department faculty was only responsible for tutoring students on an informal basis as the need arose. Still others had established formal tutoring programs to be run by nursing faculty. Some schools had hired special persons to act as full time tutors, several enlisted the help of student tutors, and a few created skill remediation learning centers.

As can be seen in Table 8, the schools with the most extensive retention programs were generally successful in retaining black students. The greatest efforts were expended by baccalaureate degree programs and schools located in the west, and these schools had the highest retention rates.

There is no clear pattern differentiating the success of individual recruitment activities. Schools which relied solely on university retention programs did not report lower retention rates than schools which depended solely on departmental programs. Formal tutoring sessions were not more successful than informal sessions in helping black students remain in school. When special teachers were hired to tutor and other faculty members were relieved of tutoring responsibilities, black retention rates did not increase. However, the use of these resource persons in combination with efforts of other faculty members or student tutors resulted in surprisingly high retention rates.

TABLE 8

RETENTION ACTIVITIES, SCHOOL POLICIES, AND BLACK RETENTION
(mean percentages reported, N in parenthesis)

		TYPE OF PROGRAM			REGION				
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
Mean Black Retention	78(21)	76(9)	59(4)	91(8)	78(7)	83(3)	67(2)	50(2)	90(7)
Retention Activities									
Formal Retention Program	85(9)	90(2)	50(1)	90(6)	90(2)	99(1)	88(1)	55(1)	88(4)
University adminstrd	91(4)	89(1)	0(0)	92(3)	90(1)	99(1)	88(1)	0(0)	89(1)
Department adminstrd	81(5)	90(1)	50(1)	88(3)	90(1)	0(0)	88(1)	55(1)	85(2)
Formal Tutor Program	74(3)	0(0)	50(1)	87(2)	0(0)	0(0)	88(1)	55(1)	85(1)
Informal Tutor Program	76(16)	73(8)	60(3)	91(3)	89(6)	75(2)	67(2)	50(2)	90(4)
Special Activities with Retention or Tutoring Program	86(6)	87(3)	86(1)	85(2)	0(0)	67(1)	0(0)	0(0)	90(5)
Admission Standards									
High	83(6)	67(2)	0(0)	90(4)	96(2)	99(1)	88(1)	45(1)	89(1)
Moderate	87(11)	92(4)	82(3)	89(4)	85(4)	90(1)	0(0)	55(1)	90(5)
Low	60(4)	60(3)	43(1)	0(0)	25(1)	67(1)	47(1)	0(0)	89(1)
Special Standards for Blacks									
Yes	78(6)	99(1)	55(1)	86(4)	67(1)	0(0)	67(2)	0(0)	90(3)
No	82(15)	73(8)	86(3)	91(4)	82(6)	85(3)	0(0)	50(2)	90(4)
Flexibility of Credit Allocation									
High	78(12)	73(6)	65(2)	89(4)	75(4)	0(0)	47(1)	45(1)	88(6)
Low	86(9)	83(3)	82(2)	89(4)	82(3)	85(3)	88(1)	55(1)	99(1)

TABLE 8 (Continued)

	TYPE OF PROGRAM				REGION			
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
Flexibility of Course Schedules									
High	88(9)	82(3)	0(0)	90(6)	96(2)	99(1)	88(1)	55(1)	87(4)
Moderate	66(6)	53(3)	82(2)	75(1)	46(2)	90(1)	47(1)	45(1)	95(1)
Low	84(6)	93(3)	73(2)	100(1)	90(3)	67(1)	0(0)	0(0)	93(2)
Financial Assistance									
High	88(12)	81(6)	93(3)	97(3)	91(7)	95(2)	88(1)	0(0)	76(2)
Moderate	75(2)	0(0)	50(1)	100(1)	0(0)	0(0)	47(1)	55(1)	0(0)
Low	80(7)	73(3)	0(0)	86(4)	0(0)	67(1)	0(0)	45(1)	81(5)

Indeed, schools using peer help, learning centers, informal tutoring sessions, and special tutors in combination with formal tutoring programs reported the highest levels of black retention.

School Policies

In general, the schools with the highest admission criteria reported the highest black retention rates. However, special admission standards for blacks did not produce significantly lower retention rates than in schools without such accommodations.

Those schools which were most restrictive in their credit allocations were most successful in retaining black students. That is, when schools did not give credits for practical nurses' courses, did not allot a prescribed number of credits for associate or diploma degrees, or did not permit a large number of credits to be earned through examination, retention rates were higher than when generous credit allocation was allowed. The one major exception to this finding is that those baccalaureate degree programs which admitted the greatest number of students through the transfer process (usually from community colleges) reported the most success in graduating large percentages of their black students. Flexible course scheduling appears to have some positive effects on black retention rates. Schools which permitted students to take courses during the summer months and during the evenings, which allowed part time study, which encouraged elective subjects, and which allowed students to earn credits through independent study generally reported higher rates of black retention than those which were more restrictive.

Financial assistance seems to have a positive influence on black retention. In those schools where little assistance is given, with the exception of associate degree programs, the retention rates were

lower than in those with moderate to high levels of financial aid allocation. Class size seems to have an inverse relationship to black retention; black students fared better in the schools which reported lower student/faculty ratios than in those with large classes.

Directors were asked if their schools had made any changes in admission criteria, class schedules, curriculum, teaching methods, and/or financial aid allocations for the expressed purpose of assisting minority students in entering and completing their nursing program. As can be seen in Table 9, the data indicate that few schools made changes to accommodate minority students. The largest percentage (33%) reported having changed teaching methods, while over a fifth had made other adjustments. The most change appeared in the central region, the least in the north; there were not significant differences in the number of changes made by the associate, diploma, or baccalaureate degree programs. Yet, the best retention results were reported in associate and baccalaureate degree programs in the western region where extensive changes were made.

While only 26 percent of the directors acknowledged changing financial assistance allocation methods to encourage minority student education, discussions with school financial aid officers led us to believe accommodations were made in the majority of our sample schools. We asked these officers to supply data about the percentages of white and black students who received various types of aid. It was found that 52.2 percent of the schools provided financial assistance to over half of their white nursing students, and 63.6 percent provided aid to the same proportion of black students.

Student Perceptions of School Efforts

Students were asked to what extent they believed their schools of nursing provided the following types of services: financial assistance,

TABLE 9

CHANGES SCHOOLS HAVE MADE TO ASSIST MINORITY STUDENTS ENTER AND REMAIN IN SCHOOL
(percentage of schools which made changes)

		TYPE OF PROGRAM			REGION				
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
N=	27	11	6	10	8	5	3	4	7
Changed Admission Criteria	22(6)	18(2)	17(1)	30(3)	13(1)	20(1)	33(1)	25(1)	29(2)
Change Class Schedule	22(6)	9(1)	33(2)	30(3)	13(1)	0(0)	0(0)	75(3)	29(2)
Changed Curriculum	22(6)	27(3)	17(1)	20(2)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	50(2)	57(4)
Teaching Methods	33(9)	36(4)	33(2)	30(3)	25(2)	0(0)	0(0)	50(2)	14(5)
Financial Aid Allocation	26(7)	27(3)	33(2)	20(2)	25(2)	0(0)	0(0)	25(1)	57(4)

flexibility of admission requirements, tutorial assistance, counselling, information about employment, flexible course schedules, flexibility in transferring credits, reduced course loads for those who need it, innovation in teaching methods, and opportunities for students to be involved in school policy decision making. In addition, they were asked if faculty members and administrators were making efforts to recruit minority students and were responsive and sympathetic to student needs and whether or not the school atmosphere was one of racial harmony.

As can be seen in Table 10, student responses indicated that they were aware of the programs initiated by their schools. The percentages who acknowledged the existence of services were closely aligned with the percentages of schools who had indeed made such provisions. The only discrepancy found was that students felt that their schools provided less tutorial assistance than was claimed by the directors.

Although there was a remarkable similarity between the responses of black and white students, a few discrepancies existed. Black students were more critical than their white classmates of their schools' minority recruitment efforts and of the extent of racial harmony within their schools. They were more satisfied, however, with their schools' course flexibility.

Recruitment and Retention

In eight of our sample schools, enrolling large numbers of black students ceased to be a problem either because of successful recruitment efforts or because the schools were relatively inexpensive and located in predominantly black neighborhoods. Half of these schools had neither recruitment or retention programs and generally seemed uninterested in the progression of black students. Two of these schools had shifted

TABLE 10

STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF SCHOOL SERVICES
(percentages reported)

In your opinion, to what extent does your school of nursing provide each of the following?

	Moderate to Great Extent		Little or Not at All	
	White	Black	White	Black
Financial assistance to needy students	83.3	80.7	16.7	19.3
Flexibility of admission requirements	58.3	57.2	41.7	42.8
Tutorial assistance	57.4	66.3	42.6	33.7
Counselling	77.0	84.1	23.0	15.9
Information about employment	72.1	73.8	27.9	26.2
Faculty members responsive and sympathetic to student needs	80.3	71.0	19.7	29.0
Flexible course schedules	38.5	54.2	61.5	45.7
Recruiting of minority students	71.5	51.3	28.5	48.7
School administrators responsive to students	65.3	57.5	34.7	42.5
Transferable credits	74.6	73.2	25.4	26.9
Reduced course loads for those who need it	40.6	36.7	59.4	63.2
Racial harmony among students	91.9	72.5	8.1	27.4
Innovative teaching methods which differ from traditional ones	74.6	68.3	25.4	31.7
An opportunity for students to be involved in decision making about school policies	65.7	63.5	34.3	36.5

recruitment efforts to focus on problems of retention; the other two programs emphasized both facets of successful integration.

Five of our sample schools had made some efforts at recruitment and retention of black students but hardly seemed concerned over their success. Only one of these schools enrolled a large percent of black students, but half of these students dropped out of school each year. The other schools had high black retention rates but few black students to retain (the highest percentage of blacks in these schools was 6%).

Another five of our sample schools expended little recruitment or retention efforts, but appeared to be successful at both. Closer examination, however, demonstrated that such success could not be attributed to the opportunities and support black students received to begin and continue their nursing education. These schools either had a large number of minority students (not black students) or had blacks enrolled only in their associate degree (not baccalaureate degree) program.

Three of the schools of nursing had tried a variety of recruitment and retention activities to integrate their student bodies, but have yet to be successful in both processes. Two schools had been able to matriculate large numbers of black students but had high black attrition rates; the other had high black retention but less than 10 percent black enrollment.

Only six schools in our sample were successful in enrolling over 15 percent and retaining over 80 percent of black students. All of these schools utilized a variety of recruitment and retention practices and tried various methods of implementation. With only one exception, these schools were located in the south or the west. Indeed, 40 percent

of the western and 50 percent of the southern schools were successful at both recruitment and retention. It is interesting to note that in these two regions, governmental prescriptions and threatened sanctions stimulated school concerns about integration. Yet, legal prescriptions alone do not characterize these schools. Rather, it is the director's and the faculty's commitment to the goal of integration and their continuous efforts to find the right strategies that mark their programs' success.

DIRECTORS SUGGESTIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL INTEGRATION

Directors were asked what problems their schools of nursing have faced in their efforts to integrate student populations. The three types of problems most frequently mentioned were those which stressed differences of black students. Most frequently mentioned were problems of educational deprivation. Black students were seen to have poor preparation for post-secondary education thus precluding them from meeting traditional entrance requirements. They were seen to be in need of remedial help and counselling and to be evaluated by means other than standardized tests.

Second, directors thought there were problems with black student attitudes. They were "too demanding" and too frequently vocalizing accusations of bias and prejudice. Moreover, many chairpersons were disturbed that black students segregated themselves from other students and formed cliques which excluded their white classmates.

The third most frequently mentioned problem concerned cultural and language differences between the races. School personnel had difficulty understanding black student articulation of their concerns and

difficulty understanding their problems in general. Moreover, there was the need for black students to overcome the feeling that they cannot succeed, as well as the need to foster the type of support system not emanating from the black racial group.

Much less frequently mentioned were problems of economic deprivation, white student acceptance, faculty prejudice, and school policy bias. The most frequent responses were characteristic of Ryan's book "Blaming the Victim." Should the prevailing belief system among nurse educators be that blacks are the cause of their problems, then it is understandable why so little integration has taken place in nursing. However, the answers to two other questions lessen the pessimism of this reply.

The directors were asked what their schools have done to integrate their student bodies. The remedies most frequently mentioned were those directed toward the above problems. First, schools have instituted a variety of educational assistance programs to help those who are ill prepared for nursing instruction. Preadmission programs have been created and remedial courses and tutorial assistance have been offered. In addition, preadmission counselling and advising throughout the educational process have been provided. Several schools also instituted changes in curriculum, flexibility in course scheduling, and lowered student/faculty ratios.

Second, to assuage problems of antagonistic black student attitudes, directors stressed the need for establishing communication channels whereby faculty and administrators can listen to complaints. Several schools have formalized "rap" sessions whereby students and faculty can exchange ideas and air problems. Most directors felt that it is necessary that they make themselves available to hear student "gripes" and have

established "open door" policies to facilitate communication with black students.

Third, to enable white students and faculty to better understand cultural differences, many schools have introduced courses which emphasize the belief systems of various ethnic groups. Several schools have had faculty members attend sensitivity training courses, such as those offered by the Southern Regional Educational Board. Another frequent method of providing for representation of minority groups has been to integrate the faculty and to employ the services of minority counsellors.

Last, the directors were asked what they believed schools of nursing could do to recruit, retain, and graduate black student nurses. The most frequently mentioned strategy was to institute programmatic changes. They believed that innovative teaching methods should be tried, students who need help should be permitted to progress through the program at a slower pace, financial assistance should be generously provided so that students will not have to work and can devote themselves to their studies, and that students who do not succeed should be permitted a second chance. In addition, it was believed that retention, tutoring, remediation, and counselling programs should be established.

The second largest category of suggestions had to do with developing policies and practices that were more responsive to minority students. Faculty development and commitment were thought to be essential for successful integration. Admission policies should be changed to eliminate biases that preclude highly motivated black students from entering nursing programs. School support services were thought essential in order for nursing departments to introduce flexibility

in scheduling and curricula.

The third group of suggestions focused on recruitment strategies. Directors believed that more concerted efforts need to be aimed in black areas. Many mentioned that the need to enlist the cooperation and assistance of community groups for attention to high schools excluded information being forwarded to a significant proportion of post-secondary age persons who may be interested in a nursing career. Community groups also were useful in helping schools meet with males interested in health careers but who were reluctant to attend high school programs directed to future nurses. A few directors stressed selective recruitment; that is, to aim efforts at schools with high standards from which students who are likely to succeed will graduate. Generally, the belief was that it was incumbent on the school of nursing to increase its exposure to minority communities and to familiarize blacks with their institutions so that they will be less reticent to apply for admission.

STUDENT NURSES' PERSONAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND WORK BACKGROUND

Despite purposive sampling methods to study schools with integrated student populations, the majority (51.6%) of the black respondents attended associate degree nursing programs. Of those remaining, 27.2 percent attended diploma and 21.2 percent attended baccalaureate degree schools. In contrast, almost half of the white students (47.7%) were matriculated in the baccalaureate degree program, whereas 29.2 percent attended diploma and only 22.4 percent were enrolled in associate degree programs (refer to Tables 11, 12 for this discussion of student nurses' backgrounds).

TABLE 11

PERSONAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND WORK BACKGROUNDS OF WHITE STUDENT NURSES
(percentages reported unless indicated)

	TYPE OF PROGRAM				REGION			
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
PERSONAL									
Median age	23	27	22	21	22	25	24	23	26
Males	7.5	9.6	9.1	6.2	7.6	5.3	7.0	15.7	5.1
Single	63.8	36.8	53.2	75.9	66.3	53.9	67.8	64.8	59.0
Childless	79.4	51.9	60.15	71.9	81.9	65.3	83.7	83.2	76.5
Median family income	15,430	14,860	15,020	16,960	15,360	16,900	15,250	15,000	15,270
Mean education (years)									
Father	13.41	12.1	13.37	14.02	13.55	12.37	13.52	13.49	13.83
Mother	12.37	11.99	12.44	12.88	12.63	12.12	12.52	12.64	12.82
Spouse	14.87	13.98	14.99	15.71	14.91	14.46	15.50	14.48	15.19
Professional occupation									
Father	28.3	19.0	26.2	46.6	27.8	17.8	30.3	30.1	32.6
Mother	21.2	17.1	21.9	22.7	21.9	17.6	20.8	18.1	25.9
Spouse	35.3	25.6	37.1	43.6	33.6	28.1	50.7	33.0	41.4
EDUCATION									
Presently enrolled in:									
Associate program	22.5	----	----	----	18.6	50.8	21.3	12.4	18.0
Diploma program	29.9	----	----	----	37.7	22.9	19.4	19.7	23.1
Baccalaureate program	47.6	----	----	----	43.6	26.3	59.3	67.9	58.8
Median miles school located from home	15.12	5.30	15.0	20.12	18.30	5.33	10.88	10.5	19.52
Enrolled previously in post-high school program	68.2	65.8	71.2	47.7	71.7	49.2	67.7	54.3	15.27
Receiving financial aid (does not include loans)	46.2	42.6	64.9	56.8	56.5	53.6	57.0	63.5	49.0

TABLE 11 (Continued)

	TYPE OF PROGRAM				REGION			
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
WORK									
Worked previously in health field	58.6	57.9	57.6	27.6	34.5	55.7	65.1	67.4	68.9
Previous position									
Nurses' aide	36.8	33.7	32.5	39.7	29.4	49.7	38.8	44.0	37.6
Practical nurse	5.8	13.1	4.9	3.1	5.6	5.6	7.9	2.7	7.9
Mean months worked previously	12.41	23.74	12.44	11.93	11.85	17.64	17.0	17.6	17.71
Working for pay while in school	69.7	57.9	79.3	74.0	64.4	69.5	72.8	82.0	77.8
Present position									
Nurses' aide	36.9	32.0	45.3	33.8	35.2	38.7	31.6	46.8	29.8
Practical nurse	7.7	22.9	5.5	3.4	35.4	7.7	5.3	4.5	11.8
Mean months working as a student	11.55	9.33	10.09	1.86	8.46	12.37	12.08	17.64	12.50

TABLE 12

PERSONAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND WORK BACKGROUND OF BLACK STUDENT NURSES
(percentages reported unless indicated)

		TYPE OF PROGRAM			REGION				
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
PERSONAL									
Median age	25	31	23	22	23	30	27	24	32
Males	2.9	2.9	4.4	6.6	3.4	1.0	2.0	7.7	1.6
Single	47.1	30.5	70.9	71.9	57.1	31.6	59.2	44.2	38.3
Childless	48.3	32.3	86.6	87.8	57.4	32.4	56.0	45.3	49.2
Median family income	11,000	12,050	10,000	11,670	9,750	13,000	11,880	13,500	14,750
Mean education (years)									
Father	10.59	10.38	11.27	10.15	10.59	10.88	9.23	10.05	11.98
Mother	11.39	11.09	11.98	11.27	11.47	11.12	10.62	11.53	12.30
Spouse	12.72	12.42	13.34	13.11	12.82	12.43	12.0	12.93	13.27
Professional occupation									
Father	9.8	8.1	12.6	9.9	12.5	5.5	9.6	4.2	16.3
Mother	20.3	19.2	25.5	16.2	2.16	17.1	22.7	11.3	31.6
Spouse	12.9	10.3	20.0	13.4	8.4	13.5	0.0	20.0	20.0
EDUCATION									
Presently enrolled in:									
Associate program	51.1	----	----	----	18.6	94.2	38.0	50.9	70.8
Diploma program	27.1	----	----	----	45.3	4.8	26.0	35.8	15.4
Baccalaureate program	21.2	----	----	----	36.5	1.0	36.0	13.2	13.8
Median miles school located from home	7.71	5.43	7.50	14.0	10.35	10.25	5.50	5.5	9.53
Enrolled previously in post-high school program	66.3	66.5	80.4	67.5	73.6	60.0	65.3	37.8	14.75
Receiving financial aid (does not include loans)	65.7	71.4	80.1	85.4	84.5	72.1	82.0	83.0	58.5

TABLE 12 (Continued)

	TYPE OF PROGRAM				REGION			
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
WORK									
Worked previously in health field	53.7	67.8	47.3	27.6	53.6	67.3	63.3	54.9	67.2
Previous position									
Nurses' aide	35.3	32.6	43.4	33.3	26.0	40.6	41.9	46.4	25.6
Practical nurse	31.2	39.6	20.8	4.2	36.0	23.2	32.3	14.3	48.8
Mean months worked previously	23.98	34.0	18.50	9.50	14.50	24.4	24.5	16.5	25.0
Working for pay while in school	64.4	62.4	70.0	50.5	59.7	54.0	79.6	71.1	75.0
Present position									
Nurses' aide	32.2	16.8	53.8	33.3	36.9	26.8	32.5	50.0	17.5
Practical nurse	37.1	55.0	25.3	8.9	7.9	37.5	30.0	15.8	62.2
Mean months working as a student	9.30	9.67	7.14	12.28	4.37	11.83	11.75	8.25	8.5

There were major regional differences, however, in the proportion of black and white respondents who attended each type of program. The largest percentages of blacks matriculated in associate degree programs were found in the north (94.2%) and west (70.8%). The north was also characterized by having the largest percentage of white students (50.8%) attending the two year program. Blacks were least represented in the associate degree programs of the south (18.6%), and whites least in the south (18.6%) and west (18%).

The largest proportions of black students in the baccalaureate degree program were reported in the southern (36.5%) and eastern regions (36%). Whites were most represented in the central (67.9%) region's four year programs. In contrast, the northern region reported the lowest percentage of black (1.0%) and white (26.3%) students attending baccalaureate degree schools.

Black enrollment in diploma schools was highest in the southern (45.3%) and central (35.8%) regions and lowest in the north (4.8%). White enrollment in hospital schools was approximately 20 percent in all regions except the south (37.7%).

Personal Background

In general, white nursing students were from higher socio-economic status backgrounds than were black students. Their fathers' educational attainment (the mean number of years of education completed by white fathers was 13.41 as compared to 10.59 by blacks), occupational status (28.3% of white fathers were employed in professional occupations as compared to 9.8% of black fathers), and incomes were higher than those of black fathers (mean annual income for white families was $15,430 as compared to $11,000 for blacks).

There was a direct correlation between socio-economic status and the type of educational program white students attended. That is, those from the highest status homes attended baccalaureate degree programs, while those from the lowest socio-economic strata attended associate degree schools. Present family demands also influenced white student program selection. Married women and those with children were most likely matriculated in two year programs and least likely to be students in the four year schools.

In contrast, there was very little difference among the socio-economic status backgrounds of black students attending associate, diploma, and baccalaureate degree programs. Few black students were from families with high educational attainment, occupational prestige and income. This lower status was evident in all regions of the country, although in the west the differences were not as great as in the other sections.

The major distinguishing feature between blacks attending the three types of educational programs was their present family situation. Those who attended the associate degree program were older (mean age 31 as compared to 23 in the diploma and 21 in the baccalaureate degree program), married (only 30.8% of the associate degree black students were single whereas 70.9% of those in the diploma and 71.9% in the baccalaureate schoools were unmarried), and parents (compared to 86.6% of the diploma and 87.8% of the baccalaureate, only 32.3% of the associate degree black students were childless). As can be seen, there are few differences between the family demands of black students attending the diploma and baccalaureate degree programs.

Educational Background

Over two-thirds of the white and black students attended an institution of higher education prior to their present school matriculation. Most had been enrolled in another type nursing program with only small percentages reporting that their major was humanities or social sciences. Black students were much more likely to attend a school of nursing close to their homes than whites (the median number of miles from home to school for blacks was 7.71 whereas for whites it was 15.12). When type of program was controlled, it was found that students enrolled in diploma schools were most likely to have attended another school after high school. In addition, associate degree students, regardless of race, attended schools close to their homes. Taking regional differences into account, it was found that southern students (70%) were most likely to be having their second encounter with post-high school education, while for western students (over 85%), their present education represented their first encounter.

Higher percentages of black students (65.7%) than whites (46.2%) received financial aid to defray the costs of tuition and books. Assistance to blacks was higher than whites in all educational programs but was most marked in the baccalaureate degree schools (74.2% of black students in four year schools were receiving aid as compared to 49.5% of whites). The western region schools reported the lowest assistance rates to both black (45.2%) and white (41.8%) students as well as the smallest percentage differences between the two racial groupings.

Work Experience

Over half the white and black students had experience working in the health field prior to attending their schools of nursing. Students in the associate degree program (63%) were more likely to have such

experience than were those in the baccalaureate degree program (28%). More than one-third of the black and white students held nurses' aide positions. Blacks were much more likely to have worked as practical nurses (31.2%) than were whites (5.8%). The highest percentage (63.1%) of practical nurses were black students attending associate degree programs. Black students, especially those in the two year schools, had spent longer periods of time working prior to their nursing education than whites (the median number of months worked by blacks was 24 as compared to 12.4 for whites).

Over two-thirds of the nursing students continued to work for pay while attending nursing school. While almost equal percentages of white and black students worked as nurses' aides, a significantly higher proportion of blacks (37.1%) than whites (7.7%) worked as practical nurses. Again, over half of the practical nurses were attending associate degree schools (25.5% of the blacks attending diploma programs were practicals, and only 3.4% of those in baccalaureate schools worked in a practical nurse capacity). The only major regional variation was that black students in western schools were most likely to be licensed practical nurses.

STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF NURSING PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

The student nurses were asked if they were members of nursing professional associations and to rate how good a job they believed the associations are doing in various activities. Students were not active in the associations, although more whites (42.7%) were members than blacks (35.2%). On functions which benefitted the entire nursing community, the students gave the associations good ratings. Over 75 percent claimed that the organizations were doing a good job in: working to upgrade

the status of nursing within the medical community; working for the economic betterment of its members; establishing training standards to maintain high levels of professional performance; working to see that nurses have opportunities to continue their education; addressing topics that concern staff nurses; and working to improve the conditions under which nurses work. (For this discussion refer to Tables 13, 14).

The aspiring nurses also believed that their associations were performing well in facing societal issues. Over 80 percent of both black and white students believed that nursing organizations were concerned with how the profession relates to major problems in contemporary society. Somewhat less agreement existed in rating associational performance to improve the delivery of health care to the economically disadvantaged. Even though fewer blacks (65.3%) gave the groups good marks than whites (75.3%) on that measure, significant support existed.

A major shift in the responses occurs, however, when examining the ratings given for functions which concern the responsiveness of professional associations to the needs and interests of minorities. While white students still gave the associations good ratings (between 67 and 76%), a high percentage of black students believed that the professional organizations were doing a poor job in: recruiting minorities into the profession (45.1% gave a poor rating); representing the interests of minority nurses (50.2%); providing opportunities for minority nurses to share in shaping association policies and priorities (49.2%); and appointing minority nurses to leadership positions within the associations (47.5%).

When controls were undertaken for type of program and region, the general pattern of responses remained stable. It was found that blacks

TABLE 13

WHITE STUDENTS RATINGS OF PROFESSIONAL NURSING ASSOCIATIONS

		TYPE OF PROGRAM			REGION				
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
Percent rating organizations as doing a good job in:									
working to upgrade the status of nursing within the medical community	85.8	88.0	87.4	83.8	90.0	82.7	78.6	82.8	78.1
working for the economic betterment of its members	79.1	80.9	83.1	75.6	83.2	74.1	71.4	71.8	78.5
being concerned with training standards to maintain high levels of professional performance	89.6	87.6	90.8	89.7	83.5	87.0	91.6	86.1	88.1
working to see that nurses have opportunities to continue their education	86.0	83.5	87.8	85.8	88.1	83.0	78.0	86.6	84.7
being concerned with how the profession relates to major problems in contemporary society	82.1	84.2	85.5	78.9	86.8	79.7	75.0	78.7	71.3
addressing topics that concern staff nurses	82.0	84.1	84.5	79.5	85.2	80.0	71.2	84.7	75.2
working to improve the conditions under which nurses work	76.4	82.1	79.0	72.1	79.6	75.9	65.7	77.2	69.6

TABLE 13 (Continued)

	TYPE OF PROGRAM			REGION				
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
recruiting minorities into the profession	71.6	74.9	78.9	65.0	74.6	69.5	71.7	64.3	66.3
representing the interests of minority nurses	69.8	75.3	78.0	61.7	73.5	72.5	65.5	61.4	61.2
providing opportunities for minority nurses to share in shaping associations' policies and priorities	72.0	76.8	78.1	65.4	76.8	71.5	64.3	64.4	62.0
appointing minority nurses to leadership positions within the associations	66.6	71.6	73.0	60.0	69.8	67.[illegible]	60.2	62.4	59.9
working to improve the delivery health care to the economically disadvantaged	75.3	78.2	81.9	69.6	82.4	71.6	64.5	69.1	59.5
Percent members of professional associations	57.3	59.7	56.2	56.8	60.4	53.3	48.1	67.5	46.9

TABLE 14

BLACK STUDENTS RATINGS OF PROFESSIONAL NURSING ASSOCIATIONS

		TYPE OF PROGRAM			REGION				
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
Percent rating organizations as doing a good job in:									
working to upgrade the status of nursing within the medical community	89.2	87.4	90.4	91.4	96.7	84.0	85.0	81.6	88.6
working for the economic betterment of its members	87.5	86.5	91.4	84.3	95.0	78.2	77.5	87.2	94.3
being concerned with training standards to maintain high levels of professional performance	92.0	88.7	96.7	92.9	97.4	86.4	85.0	92.1	94.4
working to see that nurses have opportunities to continue their education	86.9	81.5	91.4	92.8	94.1	77.8	90.0	82.1	85.7
being concerned with how the profession relates to major problems in contemporary society	87.8	84.1	90.1	92.8	94.0	81.7	89.7	76.3	91.4
addressing topics that concern staff nurses	86.0	82.6	92.1	85.3	92.2	78.7	76.9	86.5	91.4
working to improve the conditions under which nurses work	85.1	83.3	87.8	85.3	94.8	80.8	79.5	69.2	86.1

TABLE 14 (Continued)

	TYPE OF PROGRAM				REGION			
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
recruiting minorities into the profession	54.4	50.0	65.6	47.0	59.5	45.5	50.0	52.9	54.3
representing the interests of minority nurses	48.6	45.1	56.2	45.6	54.5	41.9	42.1	50.0	48.6
providing opportunities for minority nurses to share in shaping associations' policies and priorities	49.2	43.4	59.3	47.8	57.4	41.3	44.7	44.7	48.6
appointing minority nurses to leadership positions within the associations	47.5	44.0	52.8	47.8	50.4	43.2	39.5	50.0	52.9
working to improve the delivery health care to the economically disadvantaged	65.3	63.9	71.9	59.7	72.8	58.7	59.0	62.2	65.7
Percent members of professional associations	64.8	69.1	58.8	61.8	66.2	69.2	50.0	73.6	58.5

enrolled in diploma programs and attending schools in the south were least critical of the nursing associations. Among whites, the most critical groups were baccalaureate students and those who attended schools in the central and western regions.

STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF DISCRIMINATION WITHIN NURSING

Students were asked their opinions about the opportunities in nursing for men and blacks. In general, white students perceived few biases or discriminatory practices to thwart males or blacks from being full participants in the professional reward system. In contrast, while black students did not perceive problems for men, they felt strongly that members of their race faced restrictive opportunity structures within the profession. When program and region were controlled, few discrepancies were detected. (For this discussion see Tables 15, 16).

White students (34.4%) were more likely than blacks (20.6%) to agree that "Men find it easier to be admitted to schools of nursing than women." Over one-third of the respondents thought that "Men are favored when considered for a nursing position." (More than 40% of the students in the central region and 54.2% of western blacks believed this statement was correct). An almost equal percentage of students (29.7%) agreed that "The tendency in nursing is for men to be paid more than women for basically the same work." Few students concurred that "Doctors showed more respect for male nurses than female nurses," although whites were more likely to agree (23.1%) than blacks (17.1%).

Over 60 percent of the students believed that "Patients prefer to be treated by female nurses," although black students were more likely to agree (73.4%) than whites (65.3%). Only 8.2 percent of the white

TABLE 15

WHITE STUDENTS PERCEPTIONS OF DISCRIMINATION
(percent in agreement)

		TYPE OF PROGRAM			REGION				
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
Patients prefer to be treated by female nurses	65.3	66.5	66.8	63.7	67.3	69.8	60.5	55.9	64.5
Doctors generally show more respect for male nurses than female nurses	23.1	21.8	22.2	24.2	20.4	27.2	20.9	32.7	23.5
Men are generally better suited than women for administrative positions in nursing	8.2	9.1	8.8	7.6	10.4	5.4	5.1	7.4	5.9
Men are discriminated in favor of when considered for a nursing position	33.4	31.3	26.7	38.7	27.3	38.9	38.6	42.3	39.1
It is easier for a male nurse to be promoted in nursing than a female	34.5	31.8	28.7	39.5	22.0	47.2	37.8	47.1	38.6
Men find it easier to be admitted to schools of nursing than women	34.4	28.8	31.3	39.0	26.7	42.1	35.9	38.6	53.8
Most female nurses resent working with male nurses	5.3	6.1	4.7	5.3	5.3	6.4	5.8	5.2	3.6
The tendency in nursing is for men to be paid more than women for basically the same work	29.6	27.5	27.0	32.1	26.4	35.0	34.6	31.3	31.1

TABLE 15 (Continued)

	TYPE OF PROGRAM				REGION			
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
Male nurses are generally effeminate	14.6	11.5	19.9	12.8	16.0	10.9	15.6	8.6	17.5
Black nurses are more concerned about providing good patient care than white nurses	1.4	2.7	.7	1.1	1.1	2.2	.8	1.1	1.7
An important source of job dissatisfaction among black nurses is that they have few black nurse co-workers	25.5	23.2	20.9	29.7	24.6	27.9	23.2	26.1	29.2
Black student nurses tend to segregate themselves from their white classmates	46.7	43.9	51.4	45.0	51.3	45.1	37.0	44.9	37.6
Schools of nursing discriminate in favor of blacks in their admission policies	23.1	23.2	21.6	23.8	16.1	27.5	23.4	28.1	44.0
It is easier for black students than it is for white students to obtain financial assistance from schools of nursing	63.9	62.6	57.0	69.1	58.4	69.3	67.2	73.2	70.9
It is easier for a black nurse to be promoted in nursing than a white nurse	11.3	12.3	12.1	10.3	9.9	14.4	11.1	13.4	12.5

TABLE 15 (Continued)

	TYPE OF PROGRAM				REGION			
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
White patients resent being told what to do by a black nurse	16.7	17.9	17.7	15.0	20.2	16.4	13.5	12.7	8.5
Doctors generally show more respect for white nurses than black nurses	17.2	15.8	15.3	19.1	20.4	11.8	12.9	16.3	14.0
Practical nurses and aides show less respect for black nurses than white nurses	11.4	12.9	8.7	12.3	11.7	12.5	11.7	9.9	9.7
Most white nurses would prefer not to work under the supervision of a black nurse	20.0	19.4	19.1	20.8	25.3	16.4	16.1	14.3	9.2
Blacks are discriminated against when looking for a nursing position	8.5	10.0	6.4	9.3	7.3	7.3	10.5	8.0	14.7
A higher level of job performance is expected of black nurses than white nurses	6.1	9.2	4.0	6.0	4.2	8.3	5.6	10.7	8.5
Supervisors tend to complain more about black nurses than white nurses	9.9	10.4	8.7	10.4	11.6	7.2	4.9	9.7	9.1
Salaries for white nurses tend to be higher than for blacks	3.7	4.3	2.2	4.4	3.7	2.4	5.3	3.8	3.7

TABLE 16

BLACK STUDENTS PERCEPTIONS OF DISCRIMINATION
(percent in agreement)

		TYPE OF PROGRAM			REGION				
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
Patients prefer to be treated by female nurses	73.4	72.2	75.9	72.6	77.9	79.8	62.5	66.7	64.7
Doctors generally show more respect for male nurses than female nurses	17.1	17.1	13.0	22.2	12.9	23.4	27.7	9.8	14.0
Men are generally better suited than women for administrative positions in nursing	11.5	11.2	7.0	18.3	13.2	6.1	5.1	7.4	9.8
Men are discriminated in favor of when considered for a nursing position	39.6	39.4	39.1	41.0	37.3	33.0	41.9	42.9	54.2
It is easier for a male nurse to be promoted in nursing than a female	23.1	26.2	13.6	28.7	15.5	30.4	35.6	18.4	24.5
Men find it easier to be admitted to schools of nursing than women	20.6	22.8	11.8	27.8	18.1	22.3	18.2	18.8	29.2
Most female nurses resent working with male nurses	5.5	6.3	5.3	3.8	4.9	5.3	4.3	5.9	8.5
The tendency in nursing is for men to be paid more than women for basically the same work	29.7	33.2	20.6	33.8	24.6	32.2	39.0	27.1	34.0

TABLE 16 (Continued)

		TYPE OF PROGRAM			REGION				
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
Male nurses are generally effeminate	21.7	11.5	19.9	12.8	16.0	10.9	13.6	14.9	31.9
Black nurses are more concerned about providing good patient care than white nurses	24.1	21.7	27.0	25.6	31.3	19.6	21.3	15.4	23.5
An important source of job dissatisfaction among black nurses is that they have few black nurse co-workers	44.3	43.5	43.0	62.0	49.3	41.1	56.5	57.7	33.3
Black student nurses tend to segregate themselves from their white classmates	44.0	41.0	55.8	35.0	47.2	42.3	34.8	46.2	44.9
Schools of nursing discriminate in favor of blacks in their admission policies	23.2	24.9	22.1	21.0	22.2	26.3	20.0	18.0	28.6
It is easier for black students than it is for white students to obtain financial assistance from schools of nursing	24.5	23.8	28.4	20.5	23.9	20.0	26.8	35.4	21.3
It is easier for a black nurse to be promoted in nursing than a white nurse	7.7	9.2	4.5	8.8	8.4	6.2	6.5	4.0	13.7

TABLE 16 (Continued)

	TYPE OF PROGRAM				REGION			
	Total	Associate	Diploma	Baccalaureate	South	North	East	Central	West
White patients resent being told what to do by a black nurse	45.3	42.8	44.5	52.4	50.0	40.2	41.3	50.0	41.2
Doctors generally show more respect for white nurses than black nurse	52.3	52.4	56.9	45.7	56.8	45.2	57.4	42.9	57.1
Practical nurses and aides show less respect for black nurses than white nurses	40.5	38.7	43.2	41.0	44.4	34.0	38.3	35.3	49.0
Most white nurses would prefer not to work under the supervision of a black nurse	69.6	69.1	69.0	71.6	69.4	73.7	68.9	64.7	68.0
Blacks are discriminated against when looking for a nursing position	58.7	58.2	54.1	66.7	60.6	50.0	63.6	52.1	72.4
A higher level of job performance is expected of black nurses than white nurses	59.2	61.7	51.4	64.5	56.7	55.9	61.4	63.3	66.7
Supervisors tend to complain more about black nurses than white nurses	54.1	57.3	50.5	50.0	52.9	57.6	48.8	52.1	57.4
Salaries for white nurses tend to be higher than for blacks	33.4	34.6	26.0	40.5	32.8	25.0	37.5	40.9	40.4

respondents and 11.5% of the blacks thought that "Men are generally better suited than women for administrative positions in nursing." Everyone disagreed with the statement that "Most female nurses resent working with male nurses." Black students (21.7%), especially those in diploma programs (33.7%) and those in the south and west (31%), were more likely to agree that "Male nurses are generally effeminate" than were white students (14.6%).

Three patterns emerge when examining the responses to items which differentiate between the behavior and treatment of black and white nurses. The first pattern indicates that there are not great disparities in the responses to items which concern black nurse behavior. Almost half of the white students (46.7%) and the black students (44%) agreed that "Black nurses tend to segregate themselves from their white colleagues." While blacks in the west were least sensitive to this problem (33.3%), those in the baccalaureate degree program (62%) and in the eastern (56.5%) and central (57.7%) regions were the most cognizant. Both groups of students disagreed with the statement that "Black nurses are more concerned about providing good patient care than white nurses," although blacks were more likely to agree (24.1%) than whites (1.4%). While the discrepancies in responses to the item "An important source of job dissatisfaction among black nurses is that they have few black nurse co-workers" is somewhat wider (25.5% of the whites and 44.3% of the blacks agreed), in many regions the responses of the two racial groupings were similar. In the west, for example, 30 percent of both black and white students believed that the statement was true.

The second pattern of responses is that both races tend to disagree with statements which imply that blacks receive preferential treatment. In response to the item "Schools of nursing favor blacks in their ad-

mission policies," only 23.2 percent of the white and black students agreed. The one exception was in the western region where 44 percent of the white students thought the statement was correct. In addition, only 11.3 percent of the white and 7.7 percent of the blacks agreed that "It is easier for a black nurse to be promoted in nursing than a white nurse."

The one statement that evoked a feeling of discrimination among white students was in the area of financial aid. While only 24.5 percent of the black students agreed that "It is easier for black students than it is for white students to obtain financial assistance from schools of nursing," 63.9 percent of the white students agreed. Indeed, over 70 percent of the white students in central, western, and northern region schools and in baccalaureate degree programs felt that preferential treatment was given blacks in allocating financial aid.

The third pattern of responses is to statements that pertain to blacks facing discriminatory practices or attitudes. The disparity in responses among white and black students to these statements is not only large, but is wide enough to cause concern. While only 8.5 percent of the white students believed that "Blacks are discriminated against when looking for a nursing position," 58.7 percent of the blacks did so. Agreement to that statement was most marked by blacks in baccalaureate degree programs (66.7%) and in the western region (72.4%).

In contrast to 6.1 percent of the whites, 59.2 percent of the blacks agreed that "A higher level of job performance is expected of black nurses than white nurses." In addition, 33.4 percent of the blacks as opposed to 3.7 percent of the whites perceived that "Salaries for white nurses tend to be higher than for blacks." This discrepancy was most prevalent among blacks in baccalaureate degree programs (40.5%)

and those in the central (40.9%) and western (40.4%) regions.

Attitudinal questions show similar discrepancies in the perceptions of white and black students. In response to the statement that "White patients resent being told what to do by a black nurse," 16.7 percent of the whites and 45.3 percent of the blacks agreed. Over half of the baccalaureate degree blacks and those in the central and southern regions believed such resentment existed. Seventeen percent of the whites as compared to 52.3 percent of the blacks agreed that "Doctors generally show more respect for white nurses than black nurses."

The widest discrepancy was found in response to the item "Most white nurses would prefer not to work under the supervision of a black nurse." While 69.6 percent of the blacks agreed with that statement, only 20 percent of the whites did so. Similarly, 54.1 percent of the blacks and 9.9 percent of the whites agreed that "Supervisors tend to complain more about black nurses than white nurses." The smallest discrepancy was found in response to the item "Practical nurses and aides show less respect for black nurses than white nurses." Still, 40.5 percent of the blacks agreed with this statement, whereas only 11.4 percent of the whites did so.

This third pattern in response to statements dealing with perceptions of discrimination is particularly upsetting. It is obvious that a large number of black nursing students believe that members of their race receive unequal treatment within the nursing profession. Blacks enrolled in schools of nursing perceive bias in hiring and promotion practices and prejudicial relationships with patients, doctors, and professional and subprofessional colleagues. Moreover, it should be remembered that a large proportion of the black students have had work experience in the health field. Thus, these perceptions of discrimi-

nation may be based on what they have witnessed in health facilities.

In addition, as noted above, black students do not believe that nursing professional associations are interested in and responsive to their interests. If these perceptions are held by aspiring nurses, one must ask what are the beliefs held by high school students and the black community? Certainly there is every reason to believe that those not enrolled in schools of nursing perceive more discrimination than those matriculated in nursing programs. And if this be the case, is it any wonder that there is a sparcity of black nurses? Or is it any wonder that schools of nursing are having difficulty recruiting black students?

One can now appreciate the suggestions made by deans, directors, and chairpersons that a great deal of concern and commitment must be shown by school administrators and faculty if progress is to be made in integrating the nursing profession.

I hope that this report will stimulate nursing leaders and educators to ask do they really want an integrated nursing corps before they consider what is being done and what could be done differently. If the answer is less than a resolute affirmative, very little of what can be done, and very little of what will be done can be successful.